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New York

President:	Ms. Murmokaitė	(Lithuania)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Gaspar Martins
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	France	Mr. Delattre
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	Malaysia	Mr. Ibrahim
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	Russian Federation	Mr. Churkin
	Spain	Mr. Oyarzun Marchesi
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Rycroft
	United States of America	Ms. Power
	Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)	Mr. Ramírez Carreño

Agenda

Cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in maintaining international peace and security

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The meeting was called to order at 10.05 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in maintaining international peace and security

The President: In accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the following briefers to participate in this meeting: Her Excellency Ms. Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy; His Excellency Mr. Téte António, Permanent Observer of the African Union to the United Nations; and Mr. Peter Sutherland, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for International Migration.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

I now give the floor to Ms. Mogherini.

Ms. Mogherini: I thank the Lithuanian presidency for the invitation to participate in today's meeting, which we value greatly. We are here to share with the Security Council the urgent need to address the tragedies that we are facing in the Mediterranean.

The year 2015 looks even worse than the previous year, despite the fact that 3,300 migrants died in 2014 trying to enter the European Union by sea, which means that three out of four people who perished while crossing a border anywhere in the world died in the Mediterranean Sea. This tells us that our first priority is to save lives and prevent further loss of life at sea. We in the European Union believe that this is a responsibility that we all share, not only as Europeans but also globally.

This is an unprecedented situation, and an exceptional situation requires an exceptional and coordinated response. There is an urgent need to respond in an immediate and joint way — an emergency response to a structural phenomenon that is here to stay if we do not act effectively on its deep, real causes, namely, poverty, conflict, crisis and human rights violations throughout Africa and the Middle East and beyond, including what is being seen in the situations in Syria, Afghanistan and the Horn of Africa.

We are aware of the fact that there is no one magic solution, but that there must be a comprehensive response to a complex problem. It is not only a humanitarian emergency but also a security crisis, since migrant networks are linked to, and in some cases finance, terrorist activities; which contributes to instability in a region that is already unstable enough.

Addressing the situation is, first of all, a moral duty for us, but it is also in the shared interests of all the countries involved, the ones around the Mediterranean as well as countries of origin and transit. We are here to act immediately and to act together. We need an exceptional response. I would like to say the European Union is finally ready take responsibility — by saving lives, welcoming refugees, address the root causes of the phenomenon and dismantling criminal organizations.

We need to address these challenges with two basic principles: partnership and a comprehensive approach. First, we need close partnership with the countries in the region, regional organizations, starting with the African Union, and the wider international community, in particular the Security Council. Secondly, we need to act in a comprehensive way to address all related issues — the immediate humanitarian emergency, the security situation and the root causes in countries of origin and transit. I would like to stress that sometimes the countries of transit become countries of destination themselves. Tackling the root causes means tackling poverty, unequal access to resources — be they natural or financial — conflicts, crises, and violations of human rights. What we need today is shared solidarity, a long-term vision and immediate action, in full partnership at the regional and global levels. That is why it is so important for me to be here today.

The European Union will do its part. We have already discussed, last month here in New York, how to address this tragedy. As I stressed then, the European Union is increasing its work to address the root causes of the tragedies, and tackling trafficking and smuggling in the Mediterranean. Since then, we have worked on this with the African Union, including by holding our college-to-college meeting in Brussels a few weeks ago. In two days from now, on Wednesday, the European Commission will present a new European agenda on migration, offering solutions to both the immediate challenges and ways to better manage migration in all its aspects in the longer term, taking a new approach and taking on new responsibilities. We will propose to increase our settlement efforts and to enhance

legal opportunities to reach Europe. As European Commission President Juncker said in the European Parliament a few days ago, if we close the door to all, people will come in through the windows.

On the other side, the Security Council has also called for the full implementation of the Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, and urged all Member States to address illicit migration flows and to contribute to dismantling smuggling networks in the region. We all know that we need to work on the whole set of issues related to these tragedies. Tackling only one aspect will not lead to a solution, and we need to work not only together — as Europeans first of all, we have understood this — but also with the regional and global communities.

On 23 April, we Europeans decided to step up our efforts to tackle the humanitarian tragedy in the Mediterranean. This includes efforts to disrupt trafficking and smuggling networks. The European Council decided to immediately strengthen the European Union presence at sea, reinforcing the existing Operations Triton and Poseidon. Their capacities are being strengthened by tripling the financial resources available to them and by the sending of additional maritime assets. On that occasion, European leaders also asked me to propose actions to disrupt the business model of human trafficking networks across the Mediterranean. The statement of the European Council of 23 April asks the High Representative to "undertake systematic efforts to identify, capture and destroy vessels before they are used by traffickers", in accordance with international law. To that end, my presence here in the Security Council today is so important for us.

In recent weeks, we have prepared for a possible naval operation in the framework of the European Union Common Security and Defence Policy. The mandate of that operation is currently being elaborated with the European Union member States in Brussels, and will be discussed at the meeting of the European Union Foreign Affairs Council exactly one week from now, on 18 May, with the possibility of the first decisions being taken on that opportunity.

We want to work with the United Nations, in particular the Security Council. We also want to work with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Yesterday, I again spoke with António Guterres. Our teams have already intensified their common work, as it is our firm intention to always respect international law, international humanitarian law and human rights. That is a core, fundamental value on which the European Union was built, and as I said, it is our firm intention to honour it. We are taking responsibility; we are working hard and fast, but we do not want to and we cannot work alone. We need partnership if we want to put an end to these tragedies. We need to think and act together. We need to share responsibilities. It is a European responsibility and a global responsibility.

For the European Union, multilateralism is key. Work in partnership is key. Respect for and the promotion of human rights and international law are key — on issues like the one before us, more than ever. Let me explicitly assure the Security Council that no refugee or migrants intercepted at sea will be sent back against their will. Their rights under the Geneva Conventions will be fully honoured.

Let me be very clear also on another critical point — Libya. This is not all about Libya; we know that very well. This can happen in other parts of the world, but we all also know very well that the vast majority of human trafficking and smuggling in recent months is happening in Libya — or rather, through Libya. As long as there is no unity Government that will exercise its legitimate authority over the entire territory of the country and its land and sea borders, the situation is likely to continue this way. That is why the European Union is not only supporting but supporting actively and with full determination the United Nations-led process of dialogue to reach an agreement on the formation of a Government of national unity.

The European Union is politically, logistically and financially supporting this process. I am myself in close, daily contact with Bernardino León in that respect. In Brussels, we hosted a meeting of mayors and municipal representatives from all over Libya recently, as well as a business dialogue. Ten days ago, I myself was in Tunis with Bernardino León to meet and talk to all Libyan parties taking part in the dialogue. Our message to all Libyans is clear. The European Union is ready to support them in any possible way to make sure that Libya becomes the prosperous, stable country it can and deserves to be, united against all challenges the country and its people are facing, and Europe will be at their side in the ways they will decide and determine.

In the meantime, Europeans and Libyans need to work together in partnership to fight trafficking and smuggling organizations. That is a Libyan interest

and responsibility; it is a Mediterranean interest and responsibility; it is a European interest and responsibility; it is an African interest and responsibility; and, I would say, it is a global interest and responsibility. We do not and we will not act against anyone except in partnership with all. We need to work together, and we are here to work together.

That is also why we are stepping up our cooperation with and support to key countries in Africa and the Arab world, such as Tunisia, Egypt, the Sudan, Mali and the Niger. We are also stepping up cooperation with Turkey in view of the situation in Syria and Iraq. We are increasing our work within existing dialogues and partnerships, as well as regional efforts, such as the Rabat and Khartoum processes. These are fundamental elements of our comprehensive approach to addressing all migration-related issues. We have already established mobility partnerships with Morocco, Tunisia and Jordan, and a dedicated dialogue with Lebanon. These are comprehensive partnerships that cover all migration-related aspects: legal migration and mobility, with visa facilitation; the fight against irregular migration; asylum and international protection; and migration and development. We are working with regional partners in building capacity for maritime border management and search-and-rescue operations.

It is also important that the European Union and the countries party to the Rabat and Khartoum processes, as well as the African Union, work in close partnership on this issue. We therefore very much welcome the prospects for convening a special summit in Malta in the autumn, as I have already discussed with Ms. Zuma recently. We are addressing together the issues of poverty, war, human rights, and unequal distribution of and access to resources, be they financial or other kinds. We need to do this in partnership with all the countries involved on an equal footing and in full and mutual respect.

The European Union is ready to do its part. That has not always been the case, I know. Now, I believe, we are ready to do it. I believe that we are ready to address challenges that affect us all and to do so not only from a security perspective, but first and foremost from a humanitarian perspective. The European Union can do a lot — it will do a lot — but we cannot do it alone. This has to be a common global effort. That is why we count on the Security Council's support in saving lives and dismantling criminal organizations that are exploiting peoples' desperation.

Let me end by quoting Pope Francis, who has said that "there are stories that make us cry and feel ashamed". I call on the Security Council today to help us all to stop crying and stop feeling ashamed.

The President: I thank Ms. Mogherini for her briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. António.

Mr. António: Allow me, first of all, to congratulate you, Madam President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I would also like to thank you for convening this important meeting and for giving us an opportunity to share with Council members the perspectives of the African Union (AU) on the very important issues of migration to Europe and the smuggling of migrants in the Mediterranean Sea. I would also like to welcome the presence among us of Ms. Federica Mogherini, High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, and of Mr. Peter Sutherland, Special Representative of the Secretary-General for International Migration.

Today's meeting takes place against the backdrop of an ever-increasing humanitarian disaster in the Mediterranean sea, which is resulting in the the loss of the lives of thousands of migrants, many of them Africans trying to look for safer and better living conditions in Europe. These horrific incidents, which are a major issue of concern to the African Union, should serve as a wake-up call for the international community to reflect on the causes of this mass movement of people, as well as the appropriate actions that need to be taken to find a lasting solution to this persistent problem.

The massive increase in the number of people trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea cannot be divorced from the conflicts and acute humanitarian crises in some parts of Africa, in particular the situation in Libya — which is the main point of departure for the migrants. The conflict in that country has played an important role, and any attempt to address the issue would also need to address the conflict in Libya and in the broader Sahel region.

Many migrants are also fleeing conditions of abject poverty exacerbated by a number of factors, including climate change, which has had devastating consequences

on traditional livelihoods. Clearly, there are other push factors, including the lack of sufficient progress with regard to intra-Africa mobility, demographic dynamics, the digital revolution, widespread youth unemployment and rising inequality. Due to those dynamics, a flurry of highly organized transnational criminal and terrorist groups, including those involved in trafficking in persons and the smuggling of migrants, have also emerged. Those present a serious threat to African and international stability and security. For wherever one finds human traffickers and people smugglers, one is also sure to find drug and traffickers.

In that context, the principles of humanity, solidarity, burden-sharing and respect for international law, including human rights and humanitarian law, should be placed at the centre of the international response strategy. The need for enhanced coordination, cooperation and partnership among all stakeholders and actors — including the United Nations, the African Union and the European Union (EU), as well as the countries concerned, including those of origin, transit and destination — cannot be overemphasized.

Equally important is the need to step up our collective efforts to address the root causes of the problem and to enhance our commitment to prevent and resolve conflicts, realize the development agenda and move towards a more just international system. It is our conviction that ad hoc solutions that place the emphasis solely on one specific aspect — for example, focusing on trafficking without addressing either the reasons pushing people to flee their home countries or even the almost total breakdown of law and order — which have allowed human trafficking to flourish are unlikely to bring about the much-needed change that will prevent people who do not have livelihoods from looking for greener pastures elsewhere. We should therefore act to ensure conditions of security and dignity at home, because desperate people will definitely continue to flee difficult situations, in particular those of armed conflict.

It is important to note that migration by refugees from war is protected by international law. However, some of the migrants we are confronted by are not refugees, and neither are they fleeing out of choice, but as a result of hardships that are an assault and human dignity that should offend our moral sensibility. As global warming and water scarcity force more and more people to flee, it is clear that the current situation reveals gaps in our existing international instruments. It is important, therefore, that we make use of the opportunities provided, especially in the discussions on the post-2015 development agenda, to begin to address this situation.

The most vulnerable categories, including internally displaced persons and refugees, are often subject to exploitation and human trafficking. They deserve our particular attention and protection. Therefore, in addressing this problem, the international community will need to act on the basis of a comprehensive and balanced approach that takes into account realities and trends as well as linkages between migration and other key economic, social, political, humanitarian and development issues.

For its part, the African Union is fully aware of its responsibility and is ready to assume its share. In addition to the development of an African policy framework on immigration, the AU is also committed to fighting exploitation and human trafficking in collaboration with regional economic communities, international partners and civil society organizations. At the seventh African Union Commission-European Union Commission College to College Meeting, which took place in Brussels on 22 April, the two parties reviewed a wide range of issues, including questions related to legal, irregular and forced migration. In particular, they agreed to intensify the implementation of the EU-Africa declaration that was endorsed by Heads of State and Government at the EU Africa Summit in April 2014. It is worth noting that this political declaration stressed, among other things, the parties' shared commitment to fight irregular migration and to address all its relevant aspects, including prevention, strengthened immigration and border management, the smuggling of migrants, return and readmission, as well as addressing the root causes of irregular migration and enhancing cooperation to address trafficking in human beings and offering international protection.

Another issue of concern to Africa is the political impact of migration on host communities. The increase in xenophobia in Africa and beyond, especially in the context of the economic crises in many countries since 2008, is a challenge we must face. As we speak about immigration to Europe, we should not lose sight of the extent of immigration between developing countries, which is also called South-South migration, and the issues around it. There are more Africans moving within their own region than those who travel long distances to go to other parts of the world. Therefore, this trend

must also be taken into account as we address the issues at hand. The efforts of the African Union aimed at advancing regional integration, including in terms of the promotion of free movement and labour migration, should therefore be acknowledged and supported.

The President: I thank Mr. António for his briefing.

I now give the floor to Mr. Sutherland.

Mr. Sutherland: I thank you, Madam President, for the invitation to brief the Security Council.

A month ago, Deputy Secretary-General Eliasson mobilized an informal group — including High Commissioner Antonio Guterres, High Commissioner Zeid, Director General of the International Organization for Migration Bill Swing and myself — to deal with the issue of the Mediterranean crisis. We have been meeting regularly since, and have issued a number of joint statements that reflect the position of the United Nations on what has been happening. In these brief remarks, I will set out the priorities, as we see them, for the collective response to the crisis. Those are, of course, first: saving lives and safeguarding the human rights of refugees and, more generally, of migrants; secondly, law enforcement actions that are effective against traffickers and smugglers; thirdly, radically increased safe avenues of refugee resettlement, family reunion and labour migration; then, greater solidarity with countries closer to conflicts, and an intensified effort to end conflicts and stem the development failures that have displaced more people today than at any point in history.

In addressing each of those challenges, the United Nations has a crucial role to play: the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as concerns refugees and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as concerns economic migrants. That demands intensive dialogue among all of us — the United Nations, regional organizations and Governments, especially in source, transit and destination countries. As the High Representative of the European Union (EU) has emphasized, the situation in the Mediterranean represents, first and foremost, a crisis for the hundreds of thousands of refugees and migrants who have been placed in harm's way. In the first 130 days of 2015, at least 1,800 people have drowned in the Mediterranean. That total represents a 20-fold increase over the same period last year. Should that pace continue, between 10,000 and 20,000 migrants could perish by this autumn. That is why it is a compelling, collective responsibility to act immediately. Most of those crossing the Meditteranean pay smugglers $5,000, $10,000 and perhaps, in some cases, even $15,000 for their passage. That represents more than the life's savings of any one individual from many of the countries of origin. About half of those who reach Europe, on the current evidence, qualify for international protection as refugees.

An effective strategy to address the crisis, including in the context of a Security Council draft resolution, therefore begins with the immediate need to save lives. If we do not frame our response in that way, it would represent a moral failure that would undermine international law and security.

Until 900 people died on a single weekend in April, the international community was largely absent from the Mediterranean. It was left primarily to the Italian navy, which exerted considerable effort and activity, to save lives, as well as to ill-equipped merchant vessels and non-governmental organizations such as Migrant Offshore Aid Station. Since then, the situation has improved. I know from a visit to the European Commission last week, and from the President of the Commission, that an additional paper is about to be adopted. Should it be adopted, would, in my view, improve matters further and make a significant advance in the European Union's position. The EU has pledged to triple its resources in the Mediterranean. It must commit to search-and-rescue as its first priority with Operation Triton. But this is still limited to operating within 35 kilometres of Italy's shore. It has just six vessels in contrast to the 32 of Mare Nostrum, the Italian Government and Navy programme. The Italian and Hellenic navies and coast guards, now joined by vessels from elsewhere, continue to stem the loss of life. As a result, fewer refugees and migrants have died in recent days.

In parallel, Europe and Africa have to develop a common strategy to deal with smugglers and traffickers, which, of course, will not be easy. That demands better governance and coordinated law enforcement, and there are longer-term issues at stake, quite obviously, such as development. But others, particularly in Africa and the Middle East as well as the EU, have to take their responsibilities seriously in that respect. Organized criminal gangs are active from the greater Middle East, sub-Saharan Africa, through North Africa, and into Europe. No single actor nor any single tactic can ensure that they are arrested,

prosecuted, and imprisoned. The stakes for them are high; moving people illegally across borders is today more lucrative than the sale of illicit arms or drugs, and it will take a coordinated, comprehensive effort built on mutual trust and compliance with the rule of law to counter that threat. Some draw facile comparisons to the successful anti-piracy operations off the Horn of Africa, but the calculus in the Mediterranean is far more complex, with innocent refugees — including many children — in the line of fire between smugglers and any potential military operations. All enforcement measures therefore have to adhere to international human rights, humanitarian, maritime and refugee law, and the law of nations.

Even if there is success in thwarting the smugglers, we will have created a new and equally pernicious problem: we will have trapped asylum seekers, unless we are careful, in some countries without access to protection, education, health care, or livelihoods. As we ramp up anti-smuggling and counter-trafficking efforts, we have to increase our capacity to provide protection for those in need. The entire international community must accept a fair share of the refugee burden. Small countries like Lebanon and Jordan are hosting together over 1.8 million people.

Last year, the EU gave international protection to about 300,000 people. What should we do? Refugee resettlement and other forms of humanitarian admission are the safest, most organized means we have of providing protection. They are underused tools. We need more resettlement countries. We need larger resettlement quotas. Only half of the 28 EU member States are resettlement countries. We need to provide other options to asylum seekers: humanitarian visas, temporary protective status and short-term visas. For the doctors, professors and engineers among them — as well as for the nurses, construction workers and others with skills our countries need — we could offer labour visas, seasonal visas and circular migration visas. Family reunification is another very important right to be actively facilitated. We have barely deployed those life-saving tools.

We have to establish safe ways for asylum seekers to pursue those legal avenues. Meanwhile, we need to offer far more aid to countries close to conflict zones in order to ensure the safety of refugees and migrants, educate their children and offer real hope for the future. About half of the refugees, children, are currently not being educated at all. It is also important to highlight the responsibility of those countries where inequality, dysfunctional governance and poverty drive people to migrate. They need to be accountable to their own citizens. They need to create conditions where everyone can benefit from economic and social advancement.

In order to maintain the integrity of the international protection system, it is essential that any comprehensive plan include return agreements for people who are not in need of international protection.

I understand that this week the European Commission will approve a European agenda on migration. From what I have been told, it will promote many of these ideas pertaining to safer access to more channels of legal migration. My colleagues and I applaud such smart, progressive measures, and expect that the EU will adopt them with due speed and at a scale that they deserve.

Even if we achieve all of this, however, we will not have addressed the larger problems we face. We speak of root causes, but what we really need are root solutions. It is easy enough to turn away from troubles that seem intractable — conflicts that go on for years on end, authoritarian Governments that abuse their citizens, demographic challenges that seem to grow exponentially — but every problem, broken down, can at least be ameliorated. At the most basic level, we need to engage in a systemic, intense dialogue among countries of origin, transit and destination. We must sit together and persist until we find a comprehensive answer. The United Nations — the Secretary-General in particular and the Deputy Secretary-General are constantly emphasizing this publicly and personally to me — stands ready to help foster, inform and guide such a dialogue, and it should do so as it represents in particular the interests of the most vulnerable participants in this tragedy.

We recognize that, by expanding the legal challenges to migrate, the real demands on our labour markets will increase. We have to be prepared to debate this in a constructive, rather than in a negative, way.

The United Nations system, IOM and civil society organizations are contributing in many ways to mitigating the crisis, and stand ready to do much more.

The President: I thank Mr. Sutherland for his briefing.

The meeting rose at 10.40 a.m.